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NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

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[Title Page]

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FOREWORD

A program of scientific research has not reached a successful conclusion until the results obtained are made available in the literature of the profession. Publication thereby becomes an important factor in the progress of any field of knowledge. However, in anthropology as elsewhere, a manuscript containing valuable data may remain unpublished after the death of its author. In the past few years Field Museum has published two such manuscripts: that of Edward H. Thompson on the High Priest's Grave at Chichen Itza, prepared for publication by J. Eric Thompson; and Berthold Laufer's work on the origin and spread of the potato, prepared by C. Martin Wilbur.

The present report by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie on the Skidi Pawnee, edited by Alexander Spoehr, is an addition to this list. The funds enabling the authors to undertake the necessary field research were originally made available by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, to which acknowledgment is here made for its ready co-operation in granting the right of publication to Field Museum.

PAUL S. MARTIN

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NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1903 to 1907, George A. Dorsey, then Curator of Anthropology at Field Museum, received a series of grants from the Carnegie Institution of Washington for ethnological field work among the Caddoan tribes. Much of the investigation was carried on among the Pawnee, during which time James R. Murie was associated with Dorsey. The interest which Murie, himself a Pawnee, took in recording the culture of his people, and his perseverance in collecting the fast-vanishing ethnographic data relating to his tribe, are deserving of special mention. On the basis of the information gathered in the field, Murie and Dorsey commenced the preparation of a monograph entitled "Society and Religion of the Skidi Pawnee," though unfortunately the manuscript was never completed. Murie's later report on Pawnee societies (Murie, 1914) duplicated certain parts of the unfinished memoir, while other details were incorporated in four articles by Ralph Linton on various aspects of Pawnee ceremony and religion (Linton, 1922a, b; 1923a, b). The section of the manuscript dealing with society was very briefly summarized by Dorsey (Dorsey, 1907b) but until now it has not otherwise appeared in print. During the course of its preparation for publication, I found it necessary to make considerable literary revision, but the facts have not been changed. The orthography of the Pawnee words is the same as that used in the manuscript. Editorial comments on various points in the text appear in brackets.

The last decade has seen a revival of interest in the Pawnee. Recent anthropological work has more fully elucidated the history of the tribe, and our perspective has been correspondingly deepened and enriched. However, there remains a lack of published ethnographic data on the Pawnee which seriously handicaps comparison with other Plains tribes and retards the definition of problems relating to Plains Indian social organization. On a purely descriptive level, the present notes are a step toward filling out the incomplete picture. They deal briefly with social groupings such as the band, village, and family; with kinship; the major crimes and their punishment; class distinctions; and the individual life cycle, which is accorded a fuller treatment than the other sections. John B. Dunbar (1880a, b), Fletcher (1899), and Lesser (1930, 1933) have discussed some of these aspects of social organization, but the

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material included here is valuable as corroborative or as contrasting data that have been gathered independently.

As a study of social organization the present notes are suggestive rather than fully definitive, and point to the need of a more penetrating analysis of the complexities of Pawnee society. Increasing attention is being accorded today to the dynamic aspects of culture in the general Plains area, with a greater focusing of attention on the Woodland affiliations of the Plains tribes, the character of the pre-horse culture, the changes that took place with the introduction of nomadic, bison-hunting life, and the formation of new types of social structures adapted to the environmental conditions of the Plains. Although the Caddoan connections of the Pawnee are well known, a more comprehensive ethnographic knowledge concerning the tribe would do much to establish more definitely its cultural position and early historical relations. Further, as a semi-sedentary people with what Kroeber has called a "horse-bison culture overlay," the Pawnee form a type of group on which more data are desirable, both from the standpoint of examining the effect of the introduction of the horse among the Pawnee proper, and for purposes of comparison with other village tribes and with the more typical Plains groups. Specifically, this report indicates the following aspects of Pawnee social organization as being in need of further clarification: the political and ceremonial basis of the federation of Skidi villages; the economic functions of social groupings such as the band, village, and family, particularly with reference to the sedentary and buffalo-hunting phases of Pawnee life; the system of land tenure; the intricacies of the ceremonial organization; rank and status; and the kinship system and its relation to descent, inheritance, and succession. Fortunately, much of the necessary data has been collected, though they remain in unpublished form.

I am indebted to Mr. Clifford C. Gregg, Director of Field Museum, for his sympathetic aid. Also I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Paul S. Martin, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, for his assistance and encouragement and to Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for his helpful advice during the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

ALEXANDER SPOEHR

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pitahauirat. [In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).] The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands. Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however, the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However, according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by 1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill, that being the village of his father. His mother, however, belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief, is the last representative of that village. To prevent the village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

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611 mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

621 582 591 428 798 A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles, married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

611 421 798 114 [This statement that descent in the village group followed the paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

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lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of descent in the village group would arise only as the result of infrequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

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agree, nor does Murie's account agree with this manuscript. In his paper on Pawnee Societies, Murie lists a village named Black-Ear-of-Corn. According to the present manuscript this is an alternative term for a bundle called Fools-the-Wolves, belonging to a village of the same name. Also, Murie has a Fish-Hawk village, which according to the manuscript is the bundle of the Village-in-the-Woods (Village-in-Thick-Timber). Finally, he lists one village not mentioned here, its English equivalent being given as Village-on-a-Branch-of-a-River. In place of these last two, this report names the Pumpkin-Vine village and the Wolves-Standing-in-Water village. Murie mentions both of these but states that they were independent and does not include them in his list of the thirteen Skidi villages. His account implies that there were fifteen known Skidi villages in all. Though the present manuscript agrees as to the relative independence of the Pumpkin-Vine and Wolves-Standing-in-Water villages, it lists them as part of the thirteen villages belonging to the Skidi band. It should also be noted that Dorsey (1904, p. xviii) stated that there were nineteen villages; however, he did not give their names and reduced the number to thirteen in a later publication (1907b). There are no other important disagreements between the published statements of Dorsey and Murie and the present notes, except that Murie's Old village is here called the Four-Band village.]

III. THE LODGE

The size of the Skidi lodge varied according to the number of families residing in it. Although an individual family composed of a man, his wife or wives, and their children, might be the sole occupants, often more than one family lived in a single lodge and there apparently was no definite rule regarding the number of residents and consequently the size of the lodge itself. The latter might contain two beds for a small family or might be spacious enough to accommodate as many as eighteen beds for several families. Also, chiefs' lodges and those of priests and medicine-men were of exceptional size, for they were often required to accommodate a ceremonial gathering.

The construction and interior arrangements of the Pawnee earth lodge have been briefly described in a previous report (Dorsey, 1904). At the west was the altar, around the north and south sides were the beds, and at the east, on either side of the doorway, were cache holes, corn mills, sweathouses, and piles of firewood. The beds were supported by two upright forked posts on the inner side; these were connected by a hewn timber placed in the forks and from this crosspiece short poles extended to the wall or banquette. Over this frame was placed a mattress of young willows netted together and covered by buffalo robes and pillows. Usually the children had their beds nearest the altar, and the grandparents those closest the door; the parents reserved those in the middle area. In case a man had more than one wife living in his lodge, each wife had a bed of her own [Fig. 26]. [Lesser (1930) has diagramed the usual disposition of the family according to their beds. The accompanying diagrams furnished by Mr. Murie are of interest, however, for so far as I can determine they represent actual cases. Unfortunately, the exact relationships of the individuals referred to is not always clear.]

In the summer the people moved out of the lodge and slept under an arbor. Each individual family made its own arbor, or all the families together built a single large one for their joint use. [This was in addition to the tipi, and a grass-like structure sometimes used when on the march.]

Family Customs

On rising in the morning the entire family visited a near-by creek or river to bathe. In olden times all were early risers, and in the spring and autumn the men and women usually repaired at once

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to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at mealtimes, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary, such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-horn spoon."]

Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home must always talk as though the hunters were having great success. Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

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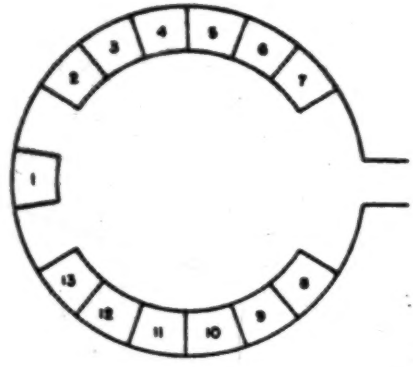
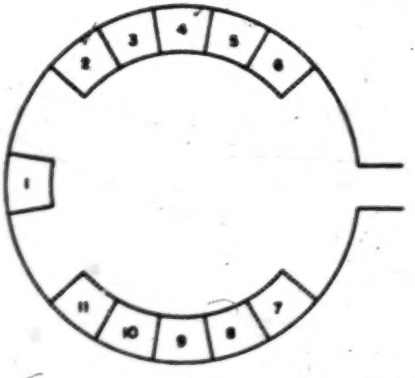


1 altar
2 Big Doctor's son & family
3 boys
4 girls
5 Big Doctor's wife's bro. & family
6 Big Doctor's wife's niece & her husband
7 Big Doctor's wife's bro's wife's mother
8 Big Doctor's wife's mother
9 Big Doctor's unmarried bro.
10 children
11 Big Doctor & wife
12 Big Doctor's second wife
13 Big Doctor's daughter



1 altar
2 fourth wife
3 second wife's children
4 second wife
5 third wife
6 Chief's parents
7 first wife's parents
8 young children
9 Chief & first wife
10 Chief's daughter
11 Chief's son

FIG. 26. Disposition of beds in two Skidi Pawnee earth lodges.

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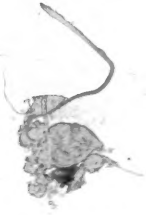
the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed by the sons of the deceased's sister.



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IV. KINSHIP

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The Skidi recognized ten primary forms of blood relationship. These were conceived as having divine origin, for it is claimed that Tirawa said that a woman shall have a grandmother, a mother, a grandchild, a sister, and a child; and a man shall have a grandfather, a father, an uncle, a nephew, and a brother. 601, [193]

There follows a table of relationship terms:

MALE SPEAKER

Skidi term	Descriptive term
atias	father father's brother father's father's father mother's mother's father father's sister's son
atira	mother mother's sister father's brother's wife father's sister father's sister's daughter father's father's mother
atipat	father's father father's sister's husband mother's sister's husband mother's mother's husband
atika	mother's mother father's mother
tiwasiriks	mother's brother
irari	brother father's brother's son mother's sister's son
itaki	sister father's brother's daughter mother's sister's daughter
tiwat	sister's son sister's daughter
pirao	son daughter brother's son brother's daughter mother's brother's son mother's brother's daughter
ruktiki	son's son son's daughter daughter's son daughter's daughter sister's son's son sister's son's daughter sister's daughter's son sister's daughter's daughter

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Skidi term	Descriptive term
ratirutako	wife wife's sister brother's wife mother's brother's wife
tatukak	wife's mother wife's father wife's brother
kustawixsu	sister's husband daughter's husband sister's daughter's husband
skurus	son's wife sister's son's wife

The usage is the same for women except for the following terms:

	FEMALE SPEAKER
irasti	brother father's brother's son mother's sister's son
irari	mother's sister's daughter
pirao	sister's son sister's daughter brother's son's son brother's son's daughter brother's daughter's son brother's daughter's daughter
skurus	brother's wife mother's brother's wife
rikoktako	husband sister's husband

Among the Skidi an eldest child was called *tirariktis;* a second, *nawira;* and the youngest, *kawita.* A half-brother and half-sister were called *irari* and *itahi.*

[The range of the terminological system is not described beyond what is given in the table. The system is a Crow type similar to the other Pawnee bands. For notes on kinship behavior see pages 88–108.]

POLYGYNY

595 As a rule, polygyny was practiced only when a man married into a family of sisters. The girl's parents would be willing to see him marry the remaining girls as they came of age, providing that he had shown himself thoroughly able to support a family. When a [585] man married sisters, the formal wedding ceremony was performed only at the first marriage.

The greatest number of wives remembered by the Skidi as belonging to one man is eight; these were four sisters in two families.

A chief or a great and successful warrior occasionally married more than one wife, not sisters. Such an exception to the custom of marrying sisters only was very rare.

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LEVIRATE

Formerly a man married his brother's widow, but this could be done only by a younger brother. This form of levirate also prevailed in other Pawnee bands. 587

POLYANDRY

There were two customs which led to a condition of temporary polyandry. In the first place, a boy on reaching the age of puberty became in practice a second husband of his mother's brother's wife, which relationship might continue for several years. It has been noted that a man called his mother's brother's wife his wife. In the second place, a younger brother often maintained the position of husband to his brother's wife. It was the custom for a younger brother to make his home with an elder married brother, in which case the elder brother might permit the former to have sexual relations with his wife. However, this was not a definite regular practice, but was decided in individual cases by the nature of the friendly feeling existing between two brothers; it was necessary both that the older brother should give his consent and that the younger brother should feel that the maintenance of such a relationship to his brother's wife would not cause a feeling of jealousy to arise on the part of his brother. This peculiar relationship was reflected in the kinship terminology, for a man used the same term for his brother's wife as for his own. The counterpart of this custom did not hold for sisters, as a girl did not leave her parents' lodge to make her home with her married sister until it was time to become the wife of her sister's husband. [For a more complete description of Pawnee polygamy, see Lesser, 1930.] 595 604 595 607 [607]

ADOPTION

Among the Skidi it was not uncommon for a family to assume the responsibility or control of some poor boy or girl, but without the child in question being formally adopted—that is, it obtained no rights of a legal nature in the family. 597

However, the formal adoption of a child was by no means rare. Generally it came about through a man's losing a favorite son or daughter by death, and through his taking a fancy to another child, bearing a strong resemblance to the one he had lost. A bereaved father, after making up his mind that he would like to adopt the child, carefully washed and arrayed himself in new costume and went to the lodge where the child lived that he wished to adopt. There he clothed the child in new moccasins and leggings that he had

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597 brought with him. He might repeat the visit several times. Meeting with no objection from the child's parents, who understood the nature of his visits, he told them of his desire and with their consent took the child to his own home. Thereafter it had all the rights and privileges of the man's dead child, but might visit its real parents at any time.

CLANS

614 No trace of clans was found.

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

Periods of Life

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods were as follows: (1) *Pirau*. This means "child," or more properly, "baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski*, "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks*, "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki*. This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita*. This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus*, meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau*. (2) *Tcoraki*, "girl." (3) *Tcoras*. This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat*, "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

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BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the married couple and their families, who at once began preparing suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which [825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right, and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like that of an animal.

843 538 825 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once, the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter. One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did. When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human, and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye, and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death. The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept [825] away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery. [915] A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The [820] noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity 843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg- 538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact [845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

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kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that no pregnant woman could come near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy. Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

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844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they [755] failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big [918] Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp [821] containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, [465] using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried [854] it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a [553] cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

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mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy. In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-board and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said: "I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods." The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came, bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

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847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 840 831 753 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years. 727 788 As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 553 159 538 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath, our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

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and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.' When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods, and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'"

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth,

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854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
855 grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
[603] tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
[86?] injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
[603] were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides, and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded, turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were told that in later years they should love their brothers even more than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
[965] that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

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relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters, in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father. On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl, or even her daughters if she already had a husband.

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother, unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother. At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek, where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves. Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period was so far as possible always kept secret.

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac-

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784 841 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand. The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she would cause him to become essentially human. What animal power he had would quickly desert him.

881 882 607 836 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted. When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing. [595] [834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to remain virgins until marriage.

882 291 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes. Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents. 836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

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early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice in the selection of a husband.

Occasionally it happened that a boy and girl eluded the vigilance of the parents and lay together. If detected, this was at once checked. Should the girl become pregnant as a result of their union, and should the girl's relatives be predisposed to the boy and think him likely to become a good husband, he was asked to marry her. The relatives of the young man gathered together and sent presents of ponies, robes, blankets, and other things to the girl's parents, and the two young people were married. If the boy was not considered suitable, however, two men were sent to his lodge and he was severely beaten, and on rare occasions died as a result of the punishment. During the beating, tribal custom decreed that the boy's relatives must not defend him. The young man's parents sometimes tried to heal the breach between the two families by offering presents to the parents of the injured girl. If the girl's relatives refused to accept the boy for a son-in-law, they attempted to secure a husband for her, which was often a matter of great difficulty. Sometimes the girl refused to tell the name of the boy who had seduced her and was driven from her own lodge, in which case she generally went to the boy's lodge and tried to live there; if they drove her out, she might be forced to live on the outskirts of the village as a prostitute. Often if a boy knew that he was about to be held responsible for betraying a girl he would run away, especially to follow a war party. Occasionally a couple, realizing their union would displease their relatives, eloped to some other village. The illicit sexual relations of young people often resulted in family disputes and conflicts involving most of the relatives on both sides.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Skidi was not entered into lightly or at an early age. The marriage tie was said to be enduring and faithfulness was expected and demanded. Skidi villages tended to be endogamous and a man married a woman of his own village, to whom he was not related by close ties of blood. Marriage with a first cousin was forbidden and marriage with a second cousin, though tolerated, was not considered proper.

Courtship as we understand it did not play a very important part in marriages among the higher class of Skidi. In fact, no friendship that might have been formed between a young couple ever resulted in legal marriage unless the proper relatives of both sides

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584 favored the match, and opportunities for young people of different sexes to come together were often made as difficult as possible by the parents. Not only did the young man and woman as a rule play but a secondary part in their marriage arrangements, but also the girl's parents had little to say as to whether or not a prospective suitor should be accepted. The decision in the matter rested entirely with the girl's mother's brother. Should the girl have no uncle, or should he not be available, the question was decided by her brothers or her grandfathers. On the other side, the prospective husband also played a rather insignificant part in the selection of his mate, nor did his father have anything to say. The choice of the young man's wife was decided by his mother's brother. Thus his maternal uncle or uncles selected the wife, made application for her, and arranged the marriage with her maternal uncles. If a young man was not pleased with the girl chosen for him he often ran away from home to escape the marriage, remaining away for one or two years. As for the girl, her opinion carried little weight and she was not in a position to help herself. If she were disinclined to accept the decision of her mother's brother, her mother endeavored to persuade her to do so.

584 No uncle in a prominent Skidi family would select as a wife for
582 his nephew any girl who bore a bad reputation for immodesty or lack of chastity. Rather, she should be known for her honesty and ability to work. Girls were not often married before twenty-two years of age, though when a man married several sisters in a family, those after the first one might be chosen when they were sixteen years old. A young man was not considered fit for marriage until he had reached maturity, killed buffalo, gone on at least one war expedition, and shown success in capturing ponies. After he had fulfilled the requirements, his uncle would inform him that it was time he should marry and that he had selected a wife for him; or the young man would tell his uncle of his readiness for marriage and that he favored a certain young woman, in which case the uncle, if he had no objection, would endeavor to arrange the marriage.

585 The wedding ceremony itself was very formal among the more
[554] prominent families, such as those of chiefs and priests, though among people of inferior social standing it was largely a matter of convenience and much of the formality was dispensed with. The following account furnishes an example of the formal wedding service. When the preliminaries had been arranged, the young man and his mother's brother sent for the priest of the sacred bundle of their village. On being notified, the priest and his oldest errand man went

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to the lodge of the young man. In the ceremony to follow, these two represented the Morning-Star and his younger brother. When they were seated in the lodge the priest told the young man to throw away his calf-skin robe and don one of buffalo hide [a mature buffalo?]. Then the priest, followed by the young man and the errand man, walked through the village to the girl's lodge; when the people saw them they realized a marriage was about to take place. On arriving at their destination, the three men entered the lodge and sat down near the entrance. As soon as the girl's parents saw them, they knew the purpose of the visit. If there were several girls in the family, it was the duty of some old woman in the lodge to ask the priest which one was desired. He whispered his answer to the old woman, and if their visit was apparently well received, he left the lodge with his two companions. 585

When they had gone, the relatives of the girl were sent for. They sat in a circle in the lodge; the pipe from the bundle was taken down and passed from one to another while the relatives discussed whether or not the young man should have the girl. Each man took the pipe and spoke his mind as to the young man's character and ability. If he was known to be a good hunter, had been on the warpath, and had captured ponies, he was generally favored. If it were agreed that he should have the girl, the pipe was handed to the one who first spoke in favor of the marriage and he was told to light the pipe when the priest and the young man returned for the fourth time.

Three times the priest, the errand man, and the youth came to the girl's lodge and sat at the entrance. Each time no one spoke to them. A fourth time they came to the lodge and when they were seated they were given a pipe to smoke. They also saw that the girl's uncles, brothers, and grandfathers had come in. The priest, the prospective groom, and the errand man then rose and returned to the young man's lodge. Next the father of the girl said, "Go to our son-in-law," whereupon the uncle went to him and his companions with the word that the formal proposal had been accepted. All three returned to the girl's lodge with the uncle. As they entered they saw two buffalo robes spread out, with three pillows upon them. The priest thanked the girl's people, for he knew they were willing. They sat down. Then the girl's uncle or the one who had been chosen for the office took a pipe, lighted it, went to the fireplace, and stood to the west of it. He gave one puff to the sky to Tirawa. Next, he walked to the old priest sitting by the young man and, offering him the pipe, said: "Smoke, you shall have the girl. Take pity on us.

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585 We are poor." The priest took the pipe, smoked, and passed it to the boy and errand man, each of whom took it in turn. The uncle received the pipe again, sat down, and smoked. Then he addressed the priest: "We hope that the young man will be good to the girl. He is now to be married; we hope that he will always be ready to support the family he has come to join." The priest answered, and thanked the men for giving their consent to the marriage. He said: "You have taken pity on me: I have nothing in return to give you." Then they rose. The priest put the pillows to one side, took one of the buffalo robes, and put it on, keeping it as his pay. The errand man took the other robe for himself. The two of them and the youth left and went to the latter's lodge, where the boy's relatives were gathered, sitting in a circle. They had brought presents of ponies, buffalo
[431] robes, bows and arrows and quivers, or anything they wished to give. The priest and the errand man led the ponies with the presents packed upon them to the girl's lodge, where the mother and grandmother met them and received the gifts. These were distributed among the male relatives of the girl, one pony being reserved for the use of her father. The greater the number of gifts, the greater was the honor shown to the bride. The young man did not go to the girl's lodge until sent for by her parents. When they asked for him, he came, and on entering the lodge found that a buffalo robe had been spread, with two cushions upon it. He was told to sit on one cushion, the girl on the other. Food was placed before them and they ate together. There they remained for the rest of the day, and that night the marriage was consummated. This brought the ceremony to an end.

606 A man was supposed to accord his father-in-law and mother-in-law the same treatment that characterized his behavior towards his own parents. His wife's parents likewise were supposed to treat him with the same affection they showed to their own son. A man spoke of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law and his wife's brothers as *tatukak*, which means that he sits in their lodge. As has been
593 noted, he addressed his wife's sisters as he did his wife. He was never to be angry with her, for it was through two women, the Evening Star and the Moon, that man received buffalo and corn; should he treat his wife meanly, these two deities would withhold the buffalo and the rain, and famine would ensue. [The manuscript also contains the following more realistic statement: "A man had the right to whip his wife without fear of intervention unless he should show undue cruelty without good cause, in which case the wife's relatives would be likely to interfere.]

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On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children, if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine-man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar, while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin, he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

5: Dorsey & Murie E, 1-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death,
775 the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about
[766] to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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The recognition of the death of friends or relatives was marked among the Skidi by certain mourning customs, more or less formal in their nature.

In case a man or woman died of old age there was no mourning feast, and the formal period of mourning lasted only during the day of the burial. At this time all the members of the band assembled and each placed his hands upon the body of the deceased, thus expressing the hope that he too might reach an old age.

Should a man of middle age die a natural death, it was considered a disgrace. There was no feast or formal mourning on the part of the tribe or the relatives. Such a natural death was thought to be caused by the Black Wind from the south and was an indication that the man's life was useless.

If a chief of any prominence died, the whole band mourned for several months. However, if his death occurred early in the spring, just before the great ceremonies were to begin, the mourning could be concluded at the end of four days. This was brought about by a priest, who formally asked one of the chiefs when they might have the mourning feast; the latter set it at the fifth day after death, in order that spring ceremonies of such great importance should not be delayed and thus to prevent hardship and possibly famine from visiting the band. On the fifth day the chiefs visited the lodge of the deceased, the first man to enter acting as spokesman. He told the widow to sweep the lodge; then he spread mats and pillows, and asked the family to leave. The latter made the lodge ready, placing the deceased's medals, clothing, and other personal effects northeast of the entrance, whereupon they left and sat outside. When the chiefs had all arrived and had arranged themselves in a circle, the son of the dead chief entered and said: "Chiefs, it is now time that we cease to mourn for my father. We have placed his belongings for you and tied his ponies outside." The son then retired from the lodge. The spokesman addressed the chiefs, reminding them of the good qualities of the deceased. Other chiefs followed with eulogistic speeches. When these were concluded, the spokesman lit a pipe and selected one of those present to offer smoke to the earth in honor of the dead man. The chief selected took the pipe, and standing northeast of the fireplace, blew four puffs to the earth. Addressing the earth, he said: "Chief, you have gone from us; you have returned to mother earth; you have travelled on the road leading to the village of our people. On your journey turn back. Speak to us who are yet living, and say: 'May all good gifts which

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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might have come to me had I lived be given to my people, for I need such gifts no more.'" He then emptied the ashes from the pipe upon the ground, passing his hand down the stem toward the earth four times. After this he walked around the lodge and handed the pipe, stem downward, to the spokesman. The latter thanked him, as did all present. An errand man was sent to the creek for water. The spokesman distributed the robes and presents among the chiefs. The errand man, having returned with the water, was told to call the family of the dead chief; they entered the lodge and sat in a line north of the entrance. The spokesman poured water into a wooden bowl and handed it to the mourner who sat at the west end of the line. This man then washed his face for the first time since the burial of the chief, and the other mourners washed their faces in turn. The errand man took the bowl and washed the semi-circular line of mourning paint from the spokesman's face, whereupon the latter placed water in front of the chiefs, who washed a little of the clay from each other's faces. The bowl was returned to the mourners, each of whom was given a sip of water from a dipper. The errand man then gave each chief a drink from the same bowl. Next the feast was brought in and placed west of the fireplace. The spokesman put meat in a bowl and gave a small piece to each of the mourners to eat. He returned to his place, and the errand man divided the meat among the others present, all of whom had fasted since the burial of the chief. After the feast was over the spokesman gave another address, and the ceremony came to an end. It should be borne in mind that this was a band ceremony involving all Skidi, irrespective of village affiliations.

The same ceremony was performed on the death of a medicine-man, the medicine-men participating and not the chiefs. Also the same ceremony was used for a warrior of prominence.

The death of a poor man was marked by mourning and fasting on the part of the family only. This lasted for three days, at the end of which time it was the duty of one of the chiefs to "wipe the family's tears away." He asked his wife to prepare food, especially meat, and told her to take it to the lodge of the mourners. No invitations were extended for this feast, but spectators, particularly friends of the family, might be present. The family of the deceased sat north of the entrance, while the spectators sat around the fireplace. The chief entered the lodge and addressed the family, telling them that it was time to stop mourning. His errand man brought him a bowl of water, after which the chief washed the face

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of each mourner, asking that he cease crying. The chief gave each one a little food to break the fast. The remainder of the food was next divided, though nothing was distributed among the spectators; however, at the end of the feast they thanked the chief for his services. 765

Certain observances were obligatory for widows and widowers. A woman who had lost her husband was supposed to observe carefully a mourning period of at least a year, and in case he had been a man of prominence she might prolong this to two years. During this time she lived with her own people or she might stay in the lodge of her husband's parents. In the latter case it was understood that at the termination of the mourning period she would become the wife of her deceased husband's younger brother or the wife of his sister's son. Until that time she was supposed to remain chaste. A childless widow invariably returned to her parents' lodge, but following the mourning period she could remarry in the manner just noted or she could marry an outsider. However, in the latter instance she would not be considered as desirable as at the time she first married and the gifts to her relatives would be less. Thus if ten ponies were presented at her first marriage only one or two would be paid when she married again. 765 768 [587] [834] 768 587

Widowers were supposed to mourn for their wives at least two years, and sometimes mourned three. Many never remarried. Very often when a widower did not seek another spouse he was urged by his relatives to remarry, and they expressed their desire by offering to furnish the presents necessary to secure a second wife. As a rule, although a widower mourned for the usual period, he did not consider marrying again until he had gone on the war-path, taken scalps, and captured ponies. This was a somewhat formal way of terminating mourning and making himself eligible for remarriage. 765 768 587

It remains to record certain other observances connected with burial and mourning customs. As a rule, the close friends of the deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts, or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also burned. 765

On the burial of a warrior killed in battle his close friends and relatives seized the first opportunity to visit enemy country 721 765

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

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came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particularly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

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834 freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

836 548 Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

838 So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

828 156 The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

158 Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In general the punishment of crime was in the hands of the one aggrieved or of his family. 681

Murder

The slaying without due provocation of an individual in a personal encounter was avenged by the dead man's relatives, who usually inflicted fatal wounds upon the murderer. If the murderer's family thought that the murder had been committed with just cause they might defend him, in which case a general feud between the two families might ensue. In slaying a murderer, the avenging group made no attempt to employ the same weapon or use it in the same manner as had the murderer. It was enough that he should be killed. Apparently one of the worst crimes one could commit was causing a man's death by shooting a magic "arrow" into his body. 682 [754]

Rape

Occupying a high place among crimes was that of rape, which did not depend upon consent or lack of consent but upon the age of the girl. The offender was generally punished by being cut with knives, pounded with clubs, and then driven from the tribe as an outcast. In cases of rape it was a rule that the family of the accused should not attempt to shield him from punishment. 684

Adultery

A less serious crime was that of adultery, punishment for which was inflicted largely because one had stolen something not belonging to him. It was said: "No matter how brave a man may be, he is not brave when his property (wife) is stolen"; that is, no matter how great his self-restraint and control, spoken of as bravery, he always punished such a crime. Here also there was no attempt on the part of his family or friends to come to his rescue. A severer form of adultery was that in which a man went outside his own village, in which case he might be punished both by the family of the woman in the village where the crime had been committed, and by his own village. He was driven out until he had consecrated many animals, gone on the warpath, taken scalps and offered them to the deities, and waited for the New Fire Ceremony to be held.

Theft

A thief was one who stole from the members of his own band. 685 [The manuscript is not clear as to whether it was considered per-

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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685 missible to steal from another Pawnee band.] Such a person was whipped or beaten by the aggrieved. It is said that those of the
[565] upper class did not desire to steal, while those of the lower class were restrained by fear of detection. Occasionally women of the lower classes robbed the corn fields. Poor people, especially those who did not own ponies and hence were handicapped in the buffalo chase, sometimes would find a dead buffalo with the arrow which had killed the animal. They would remove the arrow, shoot it off a long distance, and insert their own. When the one who had killed the buffalo returned to claim his property his mark of ownership had
[422] been destroyed. All arrows bore special property signs, being marked either with distinctive paints or by the arrangement of the feathers. It is said, however, that it was not easy to steal a buffalo in this manner, for it usually fell on the side where it had been struck by the arrow of the slayer[?]. The end of the arrow would be broken off and it would be difficult to extract.

To steal from another tribe was in no way contrary to prevailing ethics, though the one who stole ponies was supposed to use them to assist him in getting buffalo and scalps to sacrifice to the deities.

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VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one's position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

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In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

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CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

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622 565 mitted his authority along with his bundle to his eldest son. These hereditary chiefs, representing each of the villages, selected from among the leading warriors and those of high rank a sufficient number to make up the thirty-one. [The manuscript also contains a note that the chiefs' council could reject the son of a deceased chief if it did not consider him worthy. Also, if the dead chief left no offspring, the bundle was supposed to descend to the next oldest brother or nearest male kin; the brother married the chief's widow.]

The eldest son of a chief theoretically inherited his father's position, and if he proved worthy was duly made chief on reaching the proper age. At this time the chief's bundle (North-Star bundle) was opened and a ceremony held. So far as known, the ritual accompanying the ceremony has not been sung for more than thirty years, and there is no Skidi living today (1907) who knows it.

It has been mentioned that the hereditary chiefs could invite men who had proved themselves worthy and make them chiefs. When this course was decided upon, the chiefs invited the one selected to the lodge four times. He declined the first three times, but on the fourth invitation went to the lodge, bringing with him ponies and parfleches of meat, which he presented to the chiefs. He was then made chief, but did not have his face painted, and his sons were not considered chiefs.

The son of a chief other than the eldest, or indeed any man, might make four deer holy and offer them to the four chiefs of the Four-Band village. With the consent of the other hereditary chiefs they then asked the candidate to the lodge and offered him a pipe to smoke, after which he could sit in the chief's council. [Presumably he did not have the rank of a chief, however.]

622 516 623 53 302 565 During council the chiefs were supposed to sit cross-legged in an erect attitude, never in a lounging position. The mark of office was a red-painted face with a blue semi-circular line extending from in front of each ear and passing over the forehead, and a symbol on the forehead representing the so-called Turkey's Foot constellation. An eagle feather was worn in the hair, while ordinarily the costume consisted of leggings fringed with eagle feathers and human hair from scalps, and a buffalo-skin robe on which were depicted stars, the sun, or war scenes.

622 [928] 538 565 Perhaps the most important characteristic of a chief was that he was a peace-maker and guardian of the village rather than a warrior; there are many incidents in the myths expressing the idea that a man who has often been on the warpath becomes imbued with

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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the desire to take scalps and capture ponies and is no longer fit to be chief. In the words of my informant: "Tirawa, after having created people, gave them their bundles and said to the chief: 'You are to be like me; you are to have many people to look after; you are to be guardian of the people on earth and the beings of the heavens will do your bidding.'" The custom did not prevail among the Skidi of making the chief an offering of food when on the hunt. He was obliged to look after himself, and could not claim more than the share which he himself or those riding his horses had won in the chase.

Like other societies, that of the chiefs had two errand men whose duty it was to look after the fire, prepare and distribute meat, and light the pyre for the smoke offerings. In his own village each chief also had at his command two errand men who performed similar duties.

In addition to the hereditary chief, each village had one or more *nahikuts*, or braves, whose number was usually four but varied according to the size of the village. The duty of these men was that of servants of the chiefs; they followed their directions, preserved order, helped in carrying out the laws of the band, and assisted in the preparation of the ceremonies. Their badge of office was a war-club or tomahawk. They held office for life. They were also considered as servants of the Morning Star, and like the other warriors of each village obtained their power directly from him or from some animal or spirit under the guidance of the Morning Star.

Another high-ranking class were the *narawiraris*, or warriors. These men had reached this position by their own efforts. They had made a certain number of sacrifices and thus won a victory over the powers of the heavens. They were eligible to election as chiefs and had the right to sit near the priest in ceremonies. When going on the warpath, such men had the privilege of wearing the sacred warrior's costume of the warrior's bundle. The position of warrior was said to have been created in the beginning, at which time the warrior was given five things—the otter skin, the hawk skin, the leg of an eagle, the eagle feather, and the sacred red paint made from red earth and buffalo fat. In using these objects, he was to attach the eagle leg to his belt, wear the eagle feather, and put the otter skin over his head, the hawk skin on his right shoulder, and the paint on his face. In painting his face he was to make three dots above his nose in the center of his forehead, to represent the claw of the eagle's foot. He was to use the black otter because it was from the water, was

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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694 very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the
565 clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be
798 powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

793 As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly
565 matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious
[151] memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

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MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a companion who will understand certain beings who command all the spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies, the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the objects of charity.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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554 objects of charity. On the outskirts of the village were those who
565 made up the lowest class of Skidi society and who were spoken of as "those who live in the woods." They were near outcasts, having violated tribal laws and customs. It may be noted here that as the Skidi came in closer contact with white civilization the band was too often judged from the actions of members of this last class. As
[936] white towns grew up in the vicinity these people found it easier to become hangers-on of the town than to attempt to force their way into a better position in Indian society.

567 [A few remarks are also accorded the treatment of slaves. "Slaves —that is, individuals captured in war—were rarely killed or mistreated. They generally served as helpers of the errand men for the captor (chief?) in his lodge, where they were received. Many incidents are related of slaves showing their fidelity to the Pawnee, and finally being considered as members of the tribe and marrying into it."]

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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